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612 The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world. Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δικοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπέθεροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic concern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

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612 It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing problem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine.

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of 'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very careful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing.

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of this fragmented community are related through competition for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sarakatsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, λογαριάζω, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of

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858 593 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 868 [855] [872] From the age of four until they go to school for their compulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half and seven years, children remain for the most part in their mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts. 857 867 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 158 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will [203] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

869 858 593 872 As their six years of schooling advance, children become progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their father is conditional on their living up to the standards which are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

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The laughter of other people is invited in all situations where a man, or a group, has failed. 'The world laughs' (ὁ κόσμος γελάει) at a man when he fails to defend his honour; for instance, when he does not reply to an affront. Equally, it laughs at him when he makes some slip in conventional behaviour, or when he is made to look ridiculous. It laughs at him if he does not adequately fulfil his social role. Conversely, the need to conform to social morality and etiquette is often supported by the statement that, if a man does not act in a particular way, 'the world will laugh at him'. To be ridiculous (γελοῖος) is to lack the recognition essential for social reputation.

The ridicule or laughter which a man suffers, or imagines he is suffering, is seldom crudely inflicted to his face. The sanction is more subtle. But he is not slow to sense that he is being ridiculed. A man who is insensitive to the attitudes of others (and among the Sarakatsani such men are rare) will speedily be informed of the situation through some kinsman who, because of their association, is anxious that the ridiculed man should reassert his position, if that is possible, or, in a case of moral delinquency, should mend his ways.

There are, however, certain situations where open ridicule may occur. A man of very low prestige who is 'lost' may sometimes be ridiculed to his face. On the rare occasions when Costas Pistiolis is in any social gathering he is invariably asked to sing, since this ability is one of the many social graces he does not possess. Everybody laughs. Mild as such mockery may seem, no honourable member of this community would accept it passively. Open ridicule may also happen at weddings when men lose their sense of caution. At one wedding a guest who was addled and aggressive from his drinking called for more ouzo. A bottle was brought to him. He poured a glass and drank it, only to discover it was water. A roar of laughter went up, a pointed comment on the weakness of a man unable to drink and retain a measure of self-control. At once his knife was out, but it was quickly wrenched from his hand and the man was thrown bodily from the arbour.

Although the community is dispersed, news travels with rapidity. Any interesting event is widely known throughout the community within two or three days. Weddings and festivals are centres of news exchange, but heads of families, and some

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203 626 [485] older women are constantly in Jannina for business and shopping. Here, most Sarakatsani eat and sleep at the Korakas Hotel and this establishment is an important clearing-house for business and gossip. The eagerness for news and gossip is intense. The consciousness of being a community stimulates the circulation of news which is all the more urgent because people do not live in a closely settled community. In its turn the very process of evaluating the conduct of other Sarakatsani is a reaffirmation of the solidarity and indeed of the existence of [183] the community as such. Gossip and denigration are carried out in terms of a system of values. Every criticism of a man's conduct, whether it is justified or not, is a restatement of a value.

626 Gossip within the family is uninhibited and subjective. Fantastic allegations of wrongdoing are levelled against other families of the community on negligible evidence. No doubt this contributes to the group's morale and suggests, by contrast, its own integrity. Public discussion of a man's conduct, for instance in a coffee-shop, is more careful and somewhat more [683] factual. Vicious slander without a foundation of hearsay fact merely destroys the accuser's own reputation for being an honourable man. Slander of this kind might be an answerable provocation if any kinsman of the ridiculed man were present at the time. If there is some, but not conclusive, evidence to condemn a man, a spirited debate will take place and it is in these circumstances that the presence of an articulate kinsman may help to salvage a man's reputation. But where a man's fault or failure seems to be clearly established the whole assembly will unite with obvious pleasure to ridicule a man. In this way they emphasize their own probity and prestige. Then, even the presence of kinsmen will not save a man, and if his shortcomings are sufficiently serious they may be driven to abandon him.

626 533 Gossip never ceases and it seizes on the pettiest of details and circumstances. In situations which especially shock or pique the community's imagination satirical songs are sometimes written. Song writing, of course, is the work of individuals but it depends on the community whether the songs will be accepted and remembered. This is a most feared sanction since the ridicule lives on in the song. The song will not be sung to the victim's face, but he will learn of it, and be bitterly shamed.